

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USNATO 03378 01 OF 02 032102Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----088552 032133Z /65

R 031722Z APR 78
FM USMISSION USNATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0451
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
ALL NATO CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
USNMR SHAPE BE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USNATO 03378

EXDIS

MILITARY ADDRESSEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O.11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: NATO, SP, US
SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO

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REFS: (A) MADRID 2902 (DTG 161451Z MAR 78),
(B) STATE 4756 (071859Z JAN 78), (C) 77 USNATO 9680
(DTG 071544Z OCT 77), (D) 77 STATE 226467 (DTG 210232Z
SEP 77)

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SUMMARY: GIVEN SPANISH RESERVATIONS, WE WOULD NOT PLAN TO
PURSUE WITH PERMREPS THE POSSIBILITY OF DIRECT INSTITUTIONAL
LINKS BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO HEADQUARTERS. AT THE SAME
TIME WE SEE MERIT IN (A) KEEPING ALLIES AT NATO ABREAST
OF US ANALYSES OF THE SPANISH APPROACH TO NATO AND (B)
ENCOURAGING ALLIED PARTICIPATION IN FOLLOW-ON STEPS THAT
COULD HELP THE GOS BUILD A CONSENSUS IN SPAIN IN FAVOR OF
NATO MEMBERSHIP. THIS MESSAGE OUTLINES THE APPROACH WE
PROPOSE AND REQUESTS WASHINGTON GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.
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1. IN OUR VIEW, THE TIME HAS NOT YET COME TO TRY TO FOSTER
DIRECT INSTITUTIONALIZED LINKS BETWEEN THE SPANISH GOVERN-
MENT AND NATO HEADQUARTERS AS WASHINGTON SUGGESTED IN REFS
B AND D. THE SPANISH POSITION ON SUCH TIES WAS CONVEYED
ON THE FRINGES OF THE HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR ON SPAIN AND NATO
BY THE SPANISH CO-DIRECTOR OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE WHO

SAID THAT "IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO PURSUE AT THIS TIME FURTHER CONCRETE MEASURES TO PROMOTE DIRECT INSTITUTIONALIZED CONTACTS BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO" (REF A). THE SPANISH SIDE ALSO NOTED A PREFERENCE FOR A CONTINUED US MIDDLEMAN ROLE RATHER THAN SPANISH CONTACT WITH OTHER ALLIES AND NATO.

2. GIVEN SPANISH RESERVATIONS, WE WOULD NOT PLAN TO RAISE THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH DIRECT LINKS WITH NATO PERMREPS.

3. WE WOULD WISH, HOWEVER, TO FACILITATE ANY REASONABLE APPROACHES TO NATO WHICH THE GOS MAY DECIDE TO UNDERTAKE. THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE ALLIES SHOULD PERMIT SPAIN TO TEST THE WATER WITHOUT FEAR OF AN UNREASONABLE REACTION. THE TEMPER AND CLIMATE AT NATO TOWARD SPAIN NOW SEEMS TO BE RELATIVELY RELAXED AND OPEN. IN ADDITION, WE HOPE THE INFORMATION ON NATO PROVIDED BY THE US TO THE GOS WILL HELP THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO UNDERSTAND THE CONSTRAINTS ON ALLIED ABILITY TO BE FULLY RESPONSIVE TO THE REQUESTS OF A NON-MEMBER.

4. AT THE SAME TIME, SPECIFIC SPANISH REQUESTS OF NATO NEED TO BE CAREFULLY HANDLED IN ORDER TO ACCOMMODATE THE TYPES OF RESERVATIONS WHICH SURFACED WHEN SPANISH AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM AGUIRRE PROPOSED THAT SPANISH OBSERVERS MIGHT ATTEND THE NATO DEFENSE COLLEGE. ALTHOUGH AGUIRRE

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MAY ON OCCASION HAVE COMPLICATED MATTERS BY PURSUING INITIATIVES OF WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT WAS UNAWARE OR UNPREPARED TO SUPPORT, WE JUDGE THAT MOST DELEGATIONS AT NATO WOULD WISH TO REACT AS POSITIVELY AS POSSIBLE TO REQUESTS CLEARLY SUPPORTED BY THE GOS. HOWEVER, ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE INVOLVING NATO REGULATIONS, THERE WILL INEVITABLY BE THE POSSIBILITY OF DENIAL OF CONSENSUS.

5. THERE ARE STEPS WE RECOMMEND WE TAKE AT NATO TO HELP FOSTER THE SPAIN-NATO PROCESS: (A) BRIEF SELECTED ALLIES (THE UK, FRG, ITALY, CANADA AND BELGIUM) IN GENERAL TERMS ABOUT US EFFORTS THROUGH THE AD HOC COMMITTEE TO BE RESPONSIVE TO SPANISH ATTEMPTS TO BUILD A DOMESTIC CONSENSUS FAVORING MEMBERSHIP. THIS WOULD SUPPLEMENT THE AMBASSADOR'S COMMENTS ON THE SEMINAR AT THE MARCH 14 PERMREPS LUNCH (USNATO 2670). IN DOING SO, WE WOULD NOTE THE POSSIBILITY OF A FOLLOW-ON SEMINAR WITH SPAIN AND DRAW ON BOTH OREJA'S MARCH 9 CORTES SPEECH AND UCD INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY RUPEREZ' MARCH 21 PRESS CONFERENCE TO HIGHLIGHT PRESENT GOS THINKING; (B) WE WOULD URGE THAT THEY CONTINUE TO BE AS RESPONSIVE AS POSSIBLE TO SPANISH INDICATIONS OF INTEREST IN NATO AND THAT, IN PARTICULAR THEY SEIZE OPPORTUNITIES

TO AFFECT PSOE THINKING ABOUT ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP; (C) REMIND THEM OF LOGICAL STEPS THEIR AUTHORITIES MIGHT TAKE TO STRENGTHEN SPANISH UNDERSTANDING OF NATO ALONG LINES OF THE "NEXT STEPS" CONSIDERED AT THE WASHINGTON MEETING HELD IN PREPARATION FOR THE HIGH LEVEL SEMINAR, E.G., EXCHANGES OF VISITORS, SPANISH OBSERVERS AT NATIONAL AND NATO EXERCISES, VISITS TO SPAIN OF NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARIANS, EXCHANGES OF POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS, CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE,

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0452
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USNATO 03378

EXDIS - MILITARY ADDEES TREAT AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

MILITARY EXERCISES AND BILATERAL MILITARY TRAINING, ETC.;
AND (D) MENTION DESIRABILITY OF SUCH STEPS IN GENERAL TERMS
AT A PERMREPS LUNCH IN ORDER TO HELP ASSURE THAT ALL ALLIES
WHO WISH TO DO SO SHARE IN STEPS THAT MIGHT MOVE SPAIN
CLOSER TO ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP.

6. IN LIGHT OF PORTUGUESE CONCERNS ABOUT THE IMPACT OF POSSIBLE SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO (LISBON 1121 AND 2058), WE SEE MERIT IN BRIEFING THE PORTUGUESE DELEGATION BILATERALLY AS WELL, TAKING PAINS TO SUGGEST THAT US INTEREST IN SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IS BASED ON DESIRE TO SEE A STRENGTHENED ALLIANCE BENEFICIAL TO ALL MEMBERS AND IN NO WAY REFLECTS A REDUCED INTEREST IN PORTUGAL'S ROLE. IF ANYTHING, CONSIDERATIONS PECULIAR TO THE IBERIAN PENINSULA WOULD GAIN A MORE WEIGHTED HEARING AS A RESULT OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP. WE WOULD HOPE THROUGH SUFFICIENT CANDOR TO HELP REDUCE PORTUGUESE ANXIETY AND GENERATE A SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING

OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP, WHILE RECOGNIZING
THE LIKELY PERSISTENCE OF DEEPLY ROOTED PORTUGUESE CONCERNS
DESPITE THE HELPFUL POSITION TAKEN BY PORTUGUESE FOREIGN
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MINISTER SA MACHADO ON MARCH 28 (LISBON 2434).

7. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON REACTION. BENNETT

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